"....other forms of divination may be used to diagnose disease. The most elaborate form we saw, which seemed to involve both diagnosis and treatment, was a ceremony conducted by Gargeligar for the chief Paliuilimar, who was failing rapidly. Gargeligar had already tried other treatments, including the singing of incantations.

Early in the morning of January 12, abouty [sic] forty-five people gathered on the platform about Paliuilimar's house. When we arrived, Gargeligar was smoking inside the house. Outside, near the eaves, two green coconuts with a stem connecting them were lying on the coral gravel. A sort of wooden dagger was laid against the stem.

Gargeligar took position at the outer edge of the platform. The two nuts were placed in the middle of a space between him and the house.

The aged patient, looking very sick, crawled out of the house and sat on a mat under the eaves, facing Gargeligar. Gargeligar stood up solemnly, took the dagger and one of the nuts, and opened the nut by first scoring the husk with the dagger, then plunging its point into the nut. He poured the water from the nut over Paliuilimar's head, then threw the nut over his right shoulder. He did the same with the other nut. Then, taking a bit of coconut leaflet midrib, he pushed back the hair from Paliuilimar's forehead, as if with a brush. As he did this, his lips were moving. Presumably he was reciting an incantation. Then he tossed the bit of midrib up on the thatch of the house. Paliuilimar crawled back into the house.

Gargeligar and two of his kinsmen, whom he was instructing in the healing art, then

carefully examined the cracks he had made in the husks of the two coconuts. He sent the two into the woods to get leaves of aro. While they were gone, he asked for a piece of turmeric paint, which was handed him from inside the house. With this he painted the incision in one of the nuts. Tom murmured to us 'Very bad that nut.'

When his apprentices brought the aro leaves, Gargeligar laid them over the painted incision in the nut as if he were healing it. Tom said to us 'He very happy.'

Gargeligar brought the ceremony to an end by announcing that the disease was inflicted by an evil spirit from Bwënnau. As this was Paliuilimar's ancestral homestead, the spirit was presumably the ghost of an ancestor of his. Yet Gargeligar added that the spirit was also (Tom's translation) 'a little bit sea-god.' As sea-gods are particularly dreaded, this statement was ominous. Far from considering his cure infallible, Gargeligar told Spiro about this time that unless some great change took place, the old chief would die. This prediction proved correct. Paliuilimar died on February 1."

1: Burrows--203-204 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 152, 753 Ifalik

"Above all, the people of Ifalik want to keep alive and well. So do we all, no doubt; but this sentiment is more poignant with them than with peoples who have better assurance that this wish will be granted. The wish, in the Thomas-Znaniecki list, is for security. The positive values are life, health, and, as a means to that end, plenty of food. The negative values are famine, sickness, and death. A special aspect of the same wish and the same values has already been noted under the sentiment of seafaring, where death may come by shipwreck or by drifting off the course.

The population has been diminishing, and the people know it. The fear of death comes closer home to those who are taken sick themselves or who have sickness in their own families or households. They know too well how often sickness among them is fatal.

This dominant anxiety is abundantly reflected in their religion. The prayers of visiting chiefs from Yap are thought to ensure, above all, abundance of food. The main reasons for invoking TIIltr, as agent of Aluelap, are to ask for counsel in the treatment of sickness; or to bless the medicine prepared to keep off sickness; or to drive off an evil [204] spirit, whose main purpose is supposed to be to inflict sickness; or to assure abundant food, so that people will be healthy. Some diseases are attributed to possession by evil spirits. Indeed, the evil spirits that haunt their thoughts are essentially personifications of the fear of sickness and death."

2; Damm et al. --87 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
753, 828 Ifaluk

The natives believe that there is no man who is thoroughly good, and nobody is absolutely evil; they think that Lugeilan himself punishes individuals for their misdeeds and failures; he does this by sending disease (mas), and in serious cases, death.

In such cases men have recourse to magic charms. But if this deity has ordained death, and he does so by saying: "this man and that man shall die!"; then there is nothing more to be done.

The following types of illnesses, mes, were mentioned:

cold, ngutali bodj
cough, fágafag [138]
illness resembling influenza, masélepik (Yap word) with the symptoms of colds, cough, hard sputum, pains in the chest, back, shoulders and eyes; laryngitis, yellow tongue, fever.
tuberculosis, mësebot
lupus, lugeileng (cf. the gods, page 147, who took the illness upon himself and thus gave the name to it. Syphillis was not known).
leprosy, batur
abcess, framboesia, rup
swelling of testicles, morulap
ringworm, kelísebou; this disease is rare and can be cured by the Oleai islanders.
vitiligo, boëdj ("white") with nervous disturbances
blindness, matabas
swollen thigh, abcess, lōs
elephantiasis of the leg, bedjëdjop (berërop); when it is still at the beginning stage and not quite certain it is called bōbŏ; the cause is said to be the breaking of taboos.

tumors (lipom), pir
swellings, berĕlal
"demon madness," katok alus, in the case of fear of illness; but it also affects the body and is accompanied by hunger.

4: Kramer--140
116, 753

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Elato

Hambruch learned on Elato that in case of illness, for different types of medicines, bángebang, are tried; if none of them is successful, the sick person will have to die. It is Eluelap's will and for that reason he is invoked...

4: Krämer--140 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 753 Lamotrek

Hellwig calls the coughing illness, mass, which means death and probably refers to influenza.

28: Spiro--45 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 771, 753, 261 Ifalik

"The disproportionate length of this section results from the disproportionate emphasis placed on these matters in the culture and in the minds and behavior of the people. Food and health (or illness, to look at its adverse), are the two foci, to employ a concept of Herskovits, of this culture and the subjects with which we identify the term religion, are inextricably interrelated in Ifaluk with health and disease."

are different from their earthly names, since they are given new names by Aluelap, when they ascend to the sky. Whether the possessee recognises the exact kinship relationship of the alus is not clear. Some say that the alus informs the possessee of his name, but not of his relationship. Others, including Arogeligar, say that he reveals his exact relationship. In the pidgin English of Tom, the alus descends on a person, and asks: 'you savvy me?'. If the person does not recognise him, the alus says, 'I your father', or whatever the relationship may be. He then tells him, 'No do bad, no talk bad (against) alus and people. You make good. By'm by you have sick, I give you medicine.'

This last phrase, 'I give you medicine' is the most important function of the alus. As we shall see the alusengau cause disease, and it is the alusisalup that provide the medicine to cure the victim. The exact nature of healing will be examined later, but here it must be stressed that aside from acting as the benevolent patron of the lineage, the sole function of the alusisalup is to cure the ill."

"Both kinds of alus live identical lives in the sky, the only difference being that the alusengau have 'very bad stomach', that is, they are evil. Langalian, the abode of the alusisalup, is constantly beautiful. Pungulon, on the other hand, the abode of the alusengau fluctuates between extreme beauty and extreme ugliness, but when it is beautiful, it is even more beautiful than Langalian. [WPM: p. 52 is missing from original text.] [53]

Though the alusisalup live in the sky, some of them descend to earth, appear to a person, and possess him. These alus do not possess any one indiscriminately, but possess only persons in their own matrilineal lineage. Thus, the alus is inherited matrilineally, so that a man and his son have different alus. Each lineage house has some alus --Arogeligar said, three or four--that are its special alus, and they function as parental protectors and mentors of the lineage. The alus may possess any person in the lineage, but particularly the walialus (literally, the canoe of alus), of which there is one in every lineage. The walialus is recognised by his frequency of possession. The alus 'come on top' the possessed person, and the latter, then, is conceived of as a canoe which the alus rides.

The alus possesses the walialus for several reasons. He may be lonesome for his mortal kin, or he may wish to admonish them to be good, and to shun evil. The lineage knows the names of its alus, as the latter tell their names to the walialus. These names

"There is a third category of alusengau, whose conceptualization is a point of disagreement between the chiefs and Arogeligar. Both agree that these are not the malevolent souls of the dead, that they originated independently, but that their creation is unknown. Arogeligar calls them alusefalu, literally, the alus of the ground or of the earth, who may take the form of pigs, dogs, or sparks. (15) The chiefs, on the other hand, termed them alusliol, and say that they inhabit the trees in the bush. Alusefalu, they claim, is the name of the chief of these alusliol. They also claim that should a person disobey the chiefs, or evade participation in communal work by remaining in the bush, these alus will cause him to become ill.

Aside from this minor disagreement, everyone agrees that all these alusengau have one primary aim--to cause illness. The alusengau are intrinsically evil, and delight in going bad, in causing illness. They cause illness indiscriminately, so that both the good and the evil suffer from their malevolence. These alus have a chief (16) who

"15. Since neither pigs nor dogs are indigenous animals, this conception must be very recent.

16. His name is unknown, and it is well that it is. For if the people knew his name, they might call upon him unwittingly for medicine (confusing him with an alusemar) and instead of sending medicine he would send illness."

constantly incites his malevolent cohorts to make the people ill--for 'he only like bad', not that the others need his incitations, since they are all vicious, evil creatures, whose sole delight is in harming people by making them ill.

But the alusengau not only cause illness, they also 'give people bad', that is, they give people fight, steal, gossip. If no alus, people no do bad.' In other words, people are intrinsically good, and do evil only because of an external principle, a power or force outside of their own characters and personalities, who, as it were, controls them and leads them to evil deeds. Now, it is patent that we have a contradiction at this point. All evil is caused by the alusengau, since people themselves are intrinsically good. But at the creation of man there were no alusengau, and if the people are basically good, how did evil arise in the first place, since there were no alusengau in existence to incite it? This contradiction was answered by Arogeligar by referring to his story of Ligesges and Legubrielnialel. When the latter departed from Ifaluk, Ligesges no longer followed in her good ways, but began to do evil, and others followed her example. This, however,

is an ad hoc interpretation, for actually these internal contradictions do not disturb the natives. They are not interested in Systematic Theology. (17)

There is another major contradiction inherent in this scheme, which serves to indicate how powerful the alusengau are taken to be. It is Aluelap who decides when a man is to die, with the agreement, according to one version of Solan. Yet the illness caused by the alusengau is usually fatal, and the victim dies, though not with the agreement of Aluelap, thus the alusengau are seen to be more powerful [57] than the high god himself. Arogeligar to whom I put this question answered by use of analogy. Just as some humans disobey the cheifs, so the alusengau may disobey Aluelap, a weak argument indeed. Again, however, I am not interested at this in the logic of the view, but in indicating how malicious and powerful these alus are conceived to be by the natives.

"17. The linguist will be interested in a bit of folk etymology. Tom pointed out, in the midst of this discussion, that the rat (ges) is named after Ligesges, because the rat steals food, which is the first crime she perpetrated."

It is to be remembered that nowhere in this system is there the western belief in reward and punishment. Life in the sky is but a persistence of this life, and the infliction of illness by an alus falls indiscriminately on good and bad alike. The concept of retribution is entirely foreign to native thought, so that when I asked why a man should do good since the alus will destroy both the good and the bad, my question was incomprehensible. Communication had ceased at that point, since the implied conclusion of my question was a complete non sequitir to the natives."

28: Spiro--57 [2]
116, 776, 156, 753

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"A culture that asserts the existence of imaginary beings will inevitably produce people who actually perceive those beings. Arogeligar has seen many alusenagau. I have already alluded to the woman who claimed that an alusengau threw stones at her. Tom, who is the most acculturated and most sophisticated of the natives, and who, as we shall see, expressed skepticism concerning the power of the alusemar, has no doubt that people see the alusengau. One morning, for example, he came to inform me that the night before, while he had been with me, his wife and adult son had heard an alus. They first heard his cane being dragged across the roof of their house, and later they heard someone walking about the house, and then spit. Though they were both very frightened, when they heard the steps again, they looked out, but the alus (for that is what they thought it was) was gone. I asked Tom if he had something (some medicine) to keep the alus away, and he had none. He wanted to know if I could protect myself if an alus should want to attack me, and I said I had. He asked me if I would give him my medicine, but I explained that only Americans could use it, and that if the alus should appear again, he should call me, and I would scare him away with my flashlight, since the alus, I told him, were frightened of the flashlights. In the late afternoon Tom came to our tent to remind me of my promise. The next morning when Tom came to see us I asked if the alus had come the night before, and he said it had not come, because it had heard him discussing the matter with me, and had been scared away.

Another time I noticed that Tom had moved into an uninhabited house in his courtyard. When I asked the reason he explained that he had dreamt of being chased by an alus, and therefore moved to the other house, as a precautionary measure. This, indeed, indicates strong fear in view of the fact that dreams are usually not interpreted as omens of the future, or as having any other significance."

28: Spiro--57 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 776, 753 Ifalik

"The fear of the alus is indicated by abundant evidence. Linguistically it is of interest to note that the term alus, by itself, always refers to the alusengau, unless the context indicates a benevolent variety. The alus usually attack only at night, so that no one will venture out at night into the bush. The people remain within the village, and preferably within the courtyard, and if they must go out for some reason, they light a coconut torch, for they believe that the alus will shun the light. Furthermore, they cover their doorways with mats to keep out the devil."

28: Spiro--57-58
116, 513, 776, 753

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Formerly the unmarried young men slept in the club houses or canoe houses. When I asked why this custom has been abandoned, they explained that there are only a few young men now, and that they are afraid of being attacked by the alus. [58]

One evening I was sitting in a canoe house with the young men, and I asked Talimera to bring some cigarettes for the boys from my tent. He was afraid to go alone because of the alus, and would consent to go only if I gave him my flashlight (which I had explained to him, too, was a prophylactic against the alus.)"

28: Spiro--58 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 776, 157, 753 Ifalik

"Another important indication of the people's preoccupation with the alus, is the evidence from native phantasy life. The incidence of perception of alus in the Rorschach and TAT is very high, and the perception of the alus in the blots and pictures, is of course, sheer projection. The frequency of the alus in the children's drawings makes it one of the most favorite categories. Indeed it was the drawing of the alus by the children-the small children--that aroused my curiosity about the alus and their meaning to the people. Finally a large percentage of the dreams I collected were nightmares, in which an alus was about to attack the dreamer, at which point he awoke. The dreaming of the alus indicates as strongly as possible how deeply into the unconscious of the people the belief in, and fear of, the alus has struck.

On a more conscious level is the fear of the alus expressed in the Stewart Emotional Response Test. A significantly high percentage of people responded with alus, when asked to tell what arouses fear in them."

28: Spiro--58-59 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 753, 776, 184, 789 Ifalik

"It is believed that babies are especially vulnerable to the alus, so that they are liable to their attacks even in the daylight. Hence, a baby taken from its home will be covered with a cloth, so that an alus should not see it.

It is obvious from this discussion that we are dealing here with a profoundly significant belief in Ifaluk culture and personality alike. For no matter how conceptualized every person, without exception, lives in great fear of the alus, one ever expressed any skepticism concerning either their existence or their power. [sic] Now this lack of skepticism cannot be attributed solely to conditioning factors, or to the culture pattern, or the determinism of the collective representations, from which the savage cannot extricate himself, to employ the jargon of three alternative schools of thought. For if these factors were primarily responsible for the firmness of this belief, then the same lack of skepticism should prevail in the belief in the benevolent alus, the alusemar, and such is not the case, for here, the natives are entirely pragmatic in their approach, their belief being contingent upon the objective evidence of the aluseman's power. The only objective documentation I have for this assertion comes from Tom. Now it might be argued that his higher degree of acculturation accounts for his skepticism. But this is untenable for this acculturation did not induce any skepticism as regards the alusengau, and furthermore, despite his acculturation, Tom accepts without qualification the entire pattern of natives beliefs, practices, and attitudes.

Tom, in discussing the alusemar with me, remarked that, 'If god talk lie, people throw away.' That is should the alusemar promise to restore a man's health and not succeed he is discarded in favor of another.

On another occasion, we were waiting for the diagnosis and prognosis of the illness Paluelimar, the third ranking chief, by Arogeligar. After it was given, Tom said to me, 'I don't know; maybe that god talk true, maybe talk lie.'

Another point worth recording at this point is the natives' refusal to assign alus causality to events that are amenable to naturalistic interpretation. (18)"

"18. Malinowski's point made long ago (Science, Magic and Religion) that magical or supernatural techniques are employed by natives only in situations which are unpredictable, and which they cannot control applies in full on Ifaluk. Only where [59] naturalistic interpretations are unknown, or where risks are great, are supernatural techniques used, at biological crises, ocean voyages, tec. The paucity of magic on Ifaluk is in part explainable, therefore, by a relatively predicitable environment, so that not even in gardening, for example, are magical techniques used."

28: Spiro--59
116, 776, 753, 164

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"For example, the chiefs at one time were perplexed by the disappearance of a dish of rat poison given them by the navy, which they had set in a canoe house. I suggested that perhaps an alus had absconded with it. They all dismissed this interpretation as unlikely, and agreed with Tom that probably a dog or cat was responsible.

This brings us to the native classifications of disease, which we must describe before we can continue with our discussion of religion, since religion and medicine, as should be obvious now, are inextricable. There are three categories if illness (tamai): (1). Tamai-le-alusengau, illness caused by the alus. (2) Mesilipik or Mesen, diseases caused Mesilipik. (3) Luwegoba, diseases caused by the land."

28: Spiro--60
116, 753, 164

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"In the category of diseases caused by the alus are three others, but they are classified separately from the six enumerated above, for these six are fatal, and the others are not. That is, my indication of fatality means that despite treatment a high percentage of the patients will die, though some are cured by the therapy. Were the healer not to perform the cure, they would all die. The others caused by the alus are not fatal, even if the cure were not to be applied. These are a broken bone (ebung), which is set, and a cut (kopitok) on which I have no information. While we were on Ifaluk, all bruises and cuts--and there were many--were brought to us."

"The second category of disease comprises those caused by Meselipik. Now Meselipik is a difficult concept to delineate. I don't know whether to refer to Meselipik is 'all same cold', so that those illnesses characterized by chills or fevers are caused by Meselipik. As far as I can determine Meselipik is the personification of chills. His origin or creation is unknown, but he is conceived as subsisting between the islands, and carries illness from other islands to Ifaluk on the winds. He is responsible for four illnesses, all of them infrequent, and all fatal. These are:

(1). Ikolevo: Severe chills, cured by the drinking of medicine.

(2) Izamezelibwex: Intense fever, cured by the drinking of medicine.

(3). Mazetra: Blood in the faeces, probably amoebic dysentary. He is cured by the consumption of medicine, and the singing of the chapeng, while the coconut palm is waved over him.

(4). Gilicha: This characterized by red spots covering the body, cured by the consumption of medicine.

The third category of disease is Luegoba, in which are subsumed all skin diseases, yaws, gangosa, leprosy, which are not fatal, and for which there is no cure. These

are caused by the land, that is, by dirt. (22)

The chapeng for the various diseases follow. These chapeng can best be translated by incantation, as opposed to some others, which are hymns."

"22. A question of great importance, on which the record seems quite clear, is sorcery. Sorcery does not exist, the very concept being foreign to the people. Why should a person desire another's death, and even if he did, how could he achieve his ends? The natives were baffled. Yet, Tom told me that in the past, men could invoke the aid of an alus to bring about someone's death. These were 'very bad man. Plenty house no more people now. (that is, their death's were caused by these sorcerers.). Now, no man savvy.' This may have been a personal belief of Tom's that he had picked up in his travels, and I am inclined to think so, since no amount of research elicited anything but incredulity concerning sorcery."

28: Spiro--121
116, 841, 827, 753

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Despite the nonchalance with which menstruation is accepted the men are in fear of the menstrual blood. When asked the cause of the fear, they answer that some blood might fall in their food, or that some might fall on them. These are obviously transparent rationalizations for something which has deep-seated, emotional roots, of which they themselves are not consciously aware. At least one man, however, said that should menstrual blood fall on a man, his hair comes out, he receives a perpetual stomachache, and he becomes demented. Should a man enter the hut, all vegetation would be destroyed, and 'the chief am very angry at that man.'"

29: Spiro--189-190 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 753 Ifalik

"Tarev--the native contraction of his name--is one of 250 natives of Ifaluk, an atoll in the Central Carolines in Micronesia. Though the Carolines, as a group, have been in contact with 'civilization' for three centuries, Ifaluk remains a rela- [190] tively unacculturated society, so that the aboriginal culture, with minor exceptions, is completely functioning. (5) According to native disease theory, illness is caused by ghost possession. All souls are immortal, repairing to the Sky at death where they become alus, the generic term for ghosts. Good souls become benevolent alus, curing disease; whereas bad souls become malevolent alus, causing disease. One of the nine classifications of disease is that of malebush, a generic term for all behavior that seems queer or deviant from the native point of view. One of these malebush is Tarev."

"5. For a complete ethnographic report see the writer's 'Ifaluk, a South Sea Culture,' on file with the Pacific Science Board of the National Research Council."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

corpse is wrapped in seemingly endless coils of rope, weighted with stones, and taken out to sea for burial. The canoe used for this then cannot be touched for four days, four being in general the magic number on Ifaluk.

The alus, the spirits of the dead, are sometimes benevolent and sometimes malevolent, apparently depending on the character of the person from whom they came. The malevolent spirits cause all sorts of trouble, including most kinds of illness. Mel Spiro, in his psychological studies of the Ifalukians, found fear of alus to be dominating both consciously and subconsciously. We had no encounters with alus, but we didn't seek any, and the attitude toward alus of the young men who worked with us seemed to be largely ritual, but we did not try to probe into their psychology.

In theory the dances, then, were designed to please the alus, both the high gods and the ordinary spirits. The elaborate ur dances which required these endless nightly rehearsals, were surely for the high gods; but all of the alus, like all of the people, must have enjoyed them. The rehearsals finally ended in the big show, which was held on July 22nd, at midday in the schoolhouse clearing.

Don and I were off taking advantage of a low tide to work on profiles of the reef when a messenger came to tell us the dance was about to start. When we got there the men had already formed into a line along the north margin of the clearing. They were all dressed up, with bows of the ivory-like unfolded coconut leaves on arms and legs, with coconut-leaf skirts over loin-cloths, with necklaces of flowers and of the greenish-ivory coconut leaves, with garlands of flowers, and surmounting all, a block of pith over the forehead, wrapped in red paper and tinfoil (from cigarette packages) and bearing a cluster of tall white feathers (perhaps from the fairy terns; but more probably and prosaically from chickens). Faces were marked with red turmeric, a streak of red along the jawline, and dabs on the cheeks and arms.

They put on a fine show. Some of the pieces were songs or chants, with an accompaniment of stamping and clapping. Others involved more complicated gesturings and posturings. In one, two men standing with outstretched arms pantomimed man-of-war birds—tilting, soaring and gliding—while the rest knelt facing each other, chanting the